7175/JVC



17 AUGUST 1961

FROM: USNISSION BERLIN

TO : WHITE HOUSE

OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE

INFO:

CITE : 223

ACTION DEPT NIACT 223 WHITEHOUSE NIACT UNN BONN PRITY 119 INFO LONDON 132 MOSCOW 127 PARIS 138, AUGUST 16, MIDNIGHT FROM BERLIN SIGNED LIGHTNER.

BONN ALSO PASS INFO POLAD USAREUR 122 FRCM BERLIN PARIS FOR EMB, USRO, STOESSEL AND MCGUIRE.

MAYOR BRANDT HANDED ME TODAY LETTER FOR TRANSMITTAL TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY. INFORMAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS:

EEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AFTER DEVELOPMENTS LAST THREE DAYS MY CITY, VISH CONVEY TO YOU

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSC 6-25-81 Better Ne New 80-82

PAGE____OF___5

By 120 NARS, Date 3-9-82

CONTIDENTAL

IN PERSONAL, INFORMAL LETTER SCHE OF MY THOUGHTS AND VIEWPOINTS.

MEASURES OF ULBRICHT REGIME, SUPPORTED BY SOVUNION AND OTHER
EAST BLCC COUNTRIES, HAVE ALMOST FULLY DESTROYED REMNANTS
FOUR-POWER STATUS. WHILE IN PAST ALLIED COMMANDANTS HAVE
EVEN PROTESTED AGAINST PARADES BY SO-CALLED PEOPLES' ARMY.
THIS TIME, AFTER MILITARY OCCUPATION OF EAST SECTOR BY PEOPLES'
ARMY, THEY HAVE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO DELAYED AND NOT VERY VIGOROUS
STEP. ILLEGAL SOVEREIGNTY OF EAST BERLIN GOVERNMENT WAS
ACKNOWLEDGED BY ACQUIESCING IN THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE NUMBER OF
CROSSING POINTS AND OF ENTRY INTO THE EAST SECTOR. I REGARD THIS
ENCROACHMENT AS THE MOST SERIOUS IN THE POSTWAR HISTORY OF THIS
CITY SINCE THE BLOCKADE.

THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS NOT CHANGED WILL TO RESIST OF WEST BERLIN POPULATION, BUT HAS TENDED TO ARGUSE DOUBTS AS TO DETERMINATION OF THREE POWERS AND THEIR ABILITY TO REACT. IN THIS CONNECTION THE DECISIVE FACTOR IS THAT THE WEST HAS ALWAYS SPECIFICALLY INVOKED THE EXISTING FOUR-POWER STATUS.

I AM WELL AWARE THAT EXISTING GUARANTEES FOR FREEDOM OF POP-ULATION, PRESENCE OF TROOPS AND FREE ACCESS APPLY ONLY WEST BERLIN. HOWEVER, THIS IS MATTER OF A DEEP WOUND IN LIFE OF GERMAN PAGE 2 OF 5

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PEOPLE AND OF BEING FORCED OUT OF SPHERES OF COMMON RESPONSIBILITY (BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE) AFFECTING WHOLE VESTERN PRESTIGE.

I SEE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DANGERS IN TWO RESPECTS: (1)
INACTIVITY AND MERE DEFENSIVE POSTURE CAN BRING ABOUT CRISIS OF
CONFIDENCE IN WESTERN POWERS; (2) INACTIVITY AND MERE DEFENSIVE
POSTURE CAN LEAD TO EXAGGERATED SELF-CONFIDENCE ON PART OF
EAST BERLIN REGIME WHOSE NEWSPAPERS ALREADY TODAY BOAST OF SUCCESS
ITS DEMONSTRATION OF MILITARY POWER.

SOVUNION HAS ACHIEVED HALF ITS FREE CITY PROPOSALS THROUGH USE GREMAN PEOPLES' ARMY. THE SECOND ACT IS A QUESTION OF TIME. AFTER SECOND ACT BERLIN WOULD BE LIKE A GHETTO, WHICH HAS NOT ONLY LOST ITS FUNCTION AS REFUGE OF FREEDOM AND SYMBOL OF HOPE FOR REUNIFICATION BUT WHICH WOULD ALSO BE SEVERED FROM FREE PART GERMANY. INSTEAD OF FLIGHT TO BERLIN, WE MIGHT THEN EXPERIENCE BEGINNING OF FLIGHT FROM BERLIN.

IN THIS SITUATION I CONSIDER IT PROPER THAT WESTERN POWERS, WHILE DEMANDING RE-ESTABLISHMENT FOUR-POWER RESPONSIBILITIES, PROCLAIM AT SAME TIME A THREE-POWER STATUS FOR WEST BERLIN. THREE POWERS SHOULD REITERATE GUARANTEE THEIR PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN UNTIL GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND, IF NECESSARY, HAVE THIS SUPPORTED BY PLEPISCITE POPULATION WEST BERLIN AND FEDREP. MUST ALSO BE SAID CLEARLY PAGE 3 OF 5

CONFIDENTIAL

COMPOSATION OF A TIME

THAT GERMAN QUESTION IS IN NO WAY SETTLED FOR WESTERN POWERS

BUT THAT THEY MUST INSIST UPON PEACE SETTLEMENT CORRESPONDING

TO RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF GERMAN PEOPLE AND SECURITY INTERESTS

CF ALL CONCERNED. WOULD ALSO CONSIDER ADVISABLE THAT WEST

CN OWN INITIATIVE BRING BERLIN QUESTION BEFORE UN, AT LEAST ON PASIS

THAT USSR HAS VIOLATED DECLARATION HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOST FLAGRANT MANNER.

APPEARS BETTER TO ME PUT USSR IN POSITION OF GUILTY PARTY THAN TO HAVE

TO DISCUSS SAME THEME AFTER MOTION BY OTHER STATES.

I EXPECT FROM SUCH STEPS NO SIGNIFICANT MATERIAL CHANGE PRESENT
SITUATION AND RECOLLECT NOT WITHOUT BITTERNESS DECLARATIONS REJECTING
NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR ON BASIS ONE SHOULD NOT NEGOTIATE UNDER PRESSURE.
WE NOW HAVE STATE OF ACCOMPLISHED EXTORTION, AND ALREADY I HEAR
IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TURN DOWN NEGOTIATIONS. IN SUCH SITUATION,
WHEN POSSIBILITY OF INITIATIVE FOR ACTION IS ALREADY SO SMALL, IT IS
ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT AT LEAST TO DEMONSTRATE POLITICAL INITIATIVE.

AFTER ACQUIESCENCE IN SOV STEP WHICH IS ILLEGAL, AND HAS BEEN TERMED ILLEGAL, AND IN VIEW MANY TRAGEDIES OCCURRING TODAY EAST BERLIN AND SCVZONE, WE WILL NOT BE SPARED RISKS OF ULTIMATE DECISION. IT WOULD BE WELCOMED IF AMERICAN GARRISON WERE TO BE DEMONSTRATIVELY STRENGTHENED.

I CONSIDER SITUATION SERIOUS ENOUGH, MR. PRESIDENT, TO WRITE PAGE 4 OF 5

COMEMENTAL

CONFIDENTIAL.

TO YOU IN ALL FRANKNESS AS IS POSSIBLE ONLY BETWEEN FRIENDS WHO TRUST EACH OTHER COMPLETELY.

(SIGNED) YOUR WILLY BRANDT

END TEXT

IN HANDING ME LETTER BRANDT SAID HE WOULD NOT PUBLISH TEXT.

IN SPEECH THIS AFTERNOON BRANDT MENTIONED FACT THAT LETTER WAS SENT.

ORIGINAL LETTER BEING POUCHED.

DTG: 170200Z

PAGE 5 OF 5

CONFIDENTIAL